

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 ACCRA 02604 01 OF 03 070914Z  
ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01  
/030 W

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R 061612Z APR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7390  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU  
AMEMBASSY LOME  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 3 ACCRA2604

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: OREP, (DIGGS, CHARLES), GH  
SUBJ: CODEL DIGGS VISIT TO GHANA

1. CONGRESSMAN CHARLES C. DIGGS, ACCOMPANIED BY AFRICA  
SUBCOMMITTEE STAFF CONSULTANT DR. HERSCHELLE CHALLENGER,  
VISITED ACCRA APRIL 3-5. WHILE SHORT, THEIR STAY WAS  
BUSY AND PRODUCTIVE: BOTH APPEARED PLEASED WITH WELCOME  
EXTENDED BY GOG AND WITH CONVERSATIONS HELD HERE.  
AMBASSADOR AND CONTROL OFFICER JANIN ACCOMPANIED PARTY  
THROUGHOUT.

2. FIRST WORKING DAY, APRIL 4, BEGAN WITH CAL ON ACTING  
COMMISSIONER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAJ. GEN. BOAKYE. (AS  
AIR FORCE COMMANDER, BOAKYE PINCH HITS AS COMMISSIONER  
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS WHEN FELLI AND ARMY COMMANDER  
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PAGE 02 ACCRA 02604 01 OF 03 070914Z

KOTEI ARE ABSENT. IN THIS CASE, FELLI WAS ON LEAVE  
IN BOLGATANGA AND KOTEI ON AN UNDISCLOSED MISSION TO  
LAGOS.) BOAKYE WAS FRIENDLY BUT VISIBLY NERVOUS AND  
UNCOMFORTABLE RECEIVING US. HE RAN THROUGH GOG  
POSITIONS ON VARIETY OF FAMILIAR THEMES: RHODESIA (IN  
ABSENCE OF PEACEFUL SOLUTION, ARMED STRUGGLE MUST BE  
INTENSIFIED), COCOA AGREEMENT (US REFUSAL TO SIGN IS

TROUBLESOME), HUMAN RIGHTS (IN GHANA PEOPLE ARE FREE AND ENJOY HUMAN RIGHTS) AND UNION GOVT. (UNIQUE EXPERIMENT DESIGNED TO AVOID ILLS OF PARTY POLITICS AND PERMIT UTILIZATION OF ALL NATION'S MANPOER.) CONGRESSMAN DIGGS SAID HE SHARED BOAKYE'S CONCERN OVER U.S. NON-ADHERENCE TO COCOA AGREEMENT AND ADDED THAT ADMINISTRATION IS REVIEWING COMODITY AGREEMENTS QUESTION AND SOME FORWARD MOVEMENT IS LIKELY. ON HUMAN RIGHTS, HE NOTED THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT THIS SUBJECT IS BEING APPROACHED ON A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BASIS AND CONCLUDED THAT CONGRESS WILL TAKE VARIABLES INTO ACCOUNT WHEN ASSESSING RELATIONSHIP OF HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES TO AID LEVELS IN GIVEN COUNTRY. DAILY GRAPHIC GAVE CALL GOOD PLAY WITH FRONT PAGE STORY HEADLINED "COCOA PACT TO BE REVIEWED."

3. FOLLOWING MEETING, CONGRESSMAN DIGGS AND DR. CHALLENOR RETURNED TO EMBASSY FOR BRIEFING. WE GAVE THEM FRAANK RUNDOWN OF DETERIORATING ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND OUTLINED PEACE CORPS AND AD PROGRAMS. TIME DID NOT PERMIT DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THESE PROGRAMS BUT CONGRESSMAN DIGGS APPEARED WELL-DISPOSED TOWARDS THEM.

4. HIGH POINT OF VISIT WAS CORDIAL, LATE MORNING CALL ON HEAD OF STATE ACHEAMPONG. AFTER GREETING THIS GUESTS, ACHEAMPONG LAUNCHED INTO DISCUSSION OF COMMUNIST SUBVERSION THREATENING AFRICA AND GHANA. "BUT GHANA WILL NEVER GO COMMUNIST," HE ASSERTED. "IF WE GO UNDER," HE SAID, "THE WHOLE OF AFRICA WILL GO COMMUNIST." LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 ACCRA 02604 01 OF 03 070914Z

HE STRESSED HIS DESIRE FOR FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE WEST, PARTICULARLY WITH THE US. URGING THE US TO "COME AND HELP US," ACHEAMPONG ARGUED THAT THE FACTS ABOUT GHANA ARE SOMETIMES NOT BEING CORRECTLY PRESENTED IN OTHER COUNTRIES. (I.E., IN THE US.) HE SINGLED OUT AGRICULTURE AS AREA OF GREATEST NEED AND WHERE GREATEST EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE. PROMPTED BY AMBASSADOR, HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WAS THE MAJOR THRUST OF OUR AID PROGRAMS WHICH GOG APPRECIATED. CONGRESSMAN DIGGS SAID HE AGREED THAT SOME IN THE WEST TENDED TO CONFUSE AFRICAN NATIONALISM WITH COMMUNISM, BUT THAT HE WAS NOT AWARE OF ANY BODY OF THOUGHT IN THE US WHICH BELIEVES GHANA IS LEANING TOWARD COMMUNISM. CONTRASTING ACHEAMPONG REGIME FAVORABLY WITH OTHER MILITARY GOVTS. IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE, CONGRESSMAN DIGGS SAID THE IMAGE THE SMC HAS IN THE US IS ONE OF "RESPONSIBLE AND BENEVOLENT LEADERSHIP." ACHEAMPONG COMMENTED THAT DESPITE TWO BAD YEARS (DUE TO POOR RAINS), GHANA STILL PRODUCED MUCH FOOD BUT THAT MUCH HAD ALSO BEEN SMUGGLED OUT TO

NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES WHICH, LIKE UPPER VOLTA, WERE  
HUNGRY AND COULD PAY HIGHER PRICES THAN GHANA.

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PAGE 01 ACCRA 02604 02 OF 03 070927Z  
ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7391  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU  
AMEMBASSY LOME  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 3 ACCRA 2604

5. ASKED BY THE AMBASSADOR TO EXPLAIN TO CODEL THE  
RECENTLY ANNOUNCED NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION CORPS (ACCRA  
2340), ACHEAMPONG WAS VERY VAGUE, REMARKING THAT IF  
YOUNG PEOPLE CLULD PROCUDE CROPS THIS WOULD HELP SOLVE  
SOME OF COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS. TURNING TO UNION GOVT.,  
HE CLAIMED THAT WHILE EVERYBODY WOULD BE INVOLVED IN  
THIS GOVT., THERE WOULD BE NO PARTY POLITICS. ACHEAMPONG  
DISMISSED DISSIDENT BAR ASSOCIATION LAWYERS WITH STATE-  
MENT THAT MOST LAWYERS HAVE NO CLIENTS THESE DAYS AND  
THAT BAR ASSOCIATION ACTIVITIS WANT TO USE POLITICS AS  
A WAY TO STAY OCCUPIED. ASKED ABOUT A TIME FRAME FOR  
RECOMMENDATIONS BY AD HOC COMMITTEE ON UNION GOVT.,  
ACHEAMPONG REFUSED TO BITE, SAYING TIMING DEPENDED ON  
HOW QUICKLY COMMITTEE MOVED AND STATING FLATLY, "IT IS  
DANGEROUS TO SET A DATE."

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PAGE 02 ACCRA 02604 02 OF 03 070927Z

6. ON RHODESIA, ACHEAMPONG REITERATED THAT GHANA SUPPORTS UNITY AMONG LIBERATION GROUPS AND FEARS A NEW ANGOLA UNLESS THIS IS ACHIEVED. RE DJIBOUTI, HE SAID THE GROUPS MEETING IN ACCRA HAD AGREED TO FORM UNITED FRONT AND THAT HE WAS ENCOURAGED BY THIS. ON US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA, HE SAID HE HAD NO QUARREL WITH OUR POLICIES AND THAT HE ATTACHES IMPORTANCE TO MILITARY TRAINING PROGRAMS, NOTING HE HIMSELF IS A GRADUATE OF FORT LEAVENWORTH.

7. THIS CALL RECEIVED EXTENSIVE PRESS PLAY. DAILY GRAPHIC REPORTED IT UNDER BANNER HEADLINE "US CONGRESSMAN DECLARES .... SMC HAS DONE WELL." GHANAIAN TIMES WAS MORE SUBDUED BUT ALSO FRONT-PAGED STORY UNDER HEADLINE "RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP IS SMC'S IMAGE IN U.S." FOR OUR PARTY, WE CONSIDER THAT MEETING WENT WELL. WE BELIEVE CONGRESSMAN DIGGS SHARES THIS VIEW.

8. SINCE ACHEAMPONG MEETING BEGAN AND RAN LATE, WE HAD TO CANCEL CALL ON ACTING FAO REGIONAL REP. Y. HABTU AND GO DIRECTLY TO LUNCH HOSTED BY BOAKYE. THIS HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL AFFAIR WAS JOINTLY IN HONOR OF CONGRESSMAN DIGGS AND VISITING NAACP TEAM AND WAS HELD IN EXECUTIVE LOUNGE OVERLOOKING INDEPENDENCE SQUARE TO ONE SIDE AND SEA TO THE OTHER. BOAKYE, CONGRESSMAN DIGGS AND NAACP REP DR. LYTHCOTT GAVE SPEECHES AND TOASTS. CONGRESSMAN DIGGS' ELOQUENT RESPONSE TO BOAKYE'S TOAST WAS PARTICULARLY WELL RECEIVED.

9. CONGRESS DIGGS MET WITH VALCO (KAISER ALUMINUM SUBSIDIARY) RESIDENT DIRECTOR ARMANTROUT TO BE BRIEFED ON REPORTS HE HAD HEARD THAT GHANAIS UNCOMFORTABLE ABOUT ENTIRE VALCO PRESENCE. (THESE REPORTS RAN COUNTER TO EMBASSY'S IMPRESSION.) MR. DIGGS APPEARED REASSURED BY ARMANTROUT, WHO POINTED OUT THAT BAUXITE-TO-ALUMINA PROJECT SIMPLY NOT VIABLE AND ALUMINUM LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 ACCRA 02604 02 OF 03 070927Z

ROLLING MILL WOULD NOT MAKE SENSE IN ABSENCE OF A WORKING ECOWAS WITH ACCESS TO NIGERIAN MARKET; GOG CONTINUES TO PRESS KAISER ON BOTH. AT HEAD OF STATE'S INITIATIVE KAISER ACTIVELY SEEKING LOAN FINANCING FOR MAJOR RICE/SORGHUM PROJECT ON ACCRA PLAINS, FOR WHICH KAISER AND ITS TECHNICAL PARTNER, HAWAIIAN AGRONOMICS, EACH WILL HOLD 18.5 PCT EQUITY WITH BALANCE HELD BY GHANAIAN ENTITIES; PROJECT WOULD PROVIDE SOME 12 PCT OF GHANA'S RICE NEEDS. VALCO PROUD OF ITS WAGE/BENEFITS LEADERSHIP.

VALCO FUND ARRANGEMENT ALLOWS GHANA TO BENEFIT DIRECTLY  
FROM 50 PCT OF VALCO'S AFTER-TAX PROFITS WITHOUT THE  
RISKS OF OWNERSHIP.

10. NEXT WAS CALL ON COCOA MARKETING BOARD (CMB) CHAIR-  
MAN, PROF. S. SEY, CHIEF EXECUTIVE, CDR. J.C. ADDO, AND  
COCOA MINISTRY SR. PRICIPAL SECY., E.P.K. SEDDOH. SEY  
NOTED, AS HE HAD IN JAN. 76 MEETING WITH CONGRESSMAN DIGGS  
AND DR. CHALLENGER, THAT GHANA IS PREOCCUPIED WITH INTERNATIONAL  
COCOA AGREEMENT AND U.S. NON-ADHERENCE. GHANA HOPED  
U.S. COULD TAKE PART IN SOME INTERNATIONAL COCOA ORGAN-  
IZATION DISCUSSIONS, INCLUDING REVIEW OF PRICE RANGES.

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PAGE 01 ACCRA 02604 03 OF 03 070936Z  
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INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 3 OF 3 ACCRA 2604

GOG HAD RAISED PRODUCER PRICE 25 PCT. AND CONTINUED TO  
PROVIDE FARMERS WITH SUBSIDIZED INPUTS. CMB  
HOPES TO DEVELOP PLANTATIONS AS PARALLEL SYSTEM TO  
SMALL HOLDINGS, RECOGNIZING ACTION NEEDED TO INSURE  
CONTINUING SUPPLY OF COCOA SINCE YOUNG PEOPLE NOT  
STAYING ON FARMS. HOWEVER, PLANTATIONS WOULD BE  
SMALL PROPORTION OF INDUSTRY FOR VERY LONG TIME.  
INTERNATIONAL COCOA PRICES CURRENTLY VERY HIGH, BUT  
GHANA HAS HAD TWO "VERY BAD" HARVESTS IN A ROW, AND

IN ANY CASE GOG RELIES HEAVILY ON COCOA AS SOURCE OF GOVERNMENT REVENUE. ADDO CLAIMED REHABILITATING BEING PURSUED, HOPES EVENTUALLY TO HAVE 50,000 ACRES COCOA AND 37,000 ACRES COFFEE ON CMB-OWNED FARMS. HE ADMITTED COCOA PRODUCTION DECLINING "AT A FANTASTIC RATE" (AN OVERSTATEMENT) AND STRESSED CMB DETERMINATION TO REVERSE THIS. SMUGGLING IS PROBLEM, AND SETTING UP CMB-OWNED FARMS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 ACCRA 02604 03 OF 03 070936Z

NEAR BORDERS MAY BE SOLUTION, BUT ADDO EMPHATICALLY REJECTED FORCED EJECTION OF SMALLHOLDERS AS POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE. CMB CONCERNED WITH MAINTAINING QUALITY OF GHANAIAN COCOA. DELIVERIES OF (SUBSIDIZED) INSECTICIDES TO FARMERS A CONCERN, SO CMB SETTING UP ITS OWN FORMULATING (MIXING) PLANT AT KUMASI, WHICH BY END OF 1977 SHOULD MEET 30 PCT OF NATIONAL NEEDS, AND EVENTUALLY ALL. SEY WAS FAR MORE IMPRESSIVE THAN ADDO, WITH LATTER SPEAKING MOSTLY GENERALITIES AND BANALITIES. SEDDOH SAID NOTHING. CONGRESSMAN DIGGS REPEATED POINTS ON COMMODITY AGREEMENTS MADE TO BOAKYE (PARA 2) AND HE AND DR. CHALLENGER ASKED INCISIVE QUESTIONS.

11. LAST FORMAL MEETING WAS WITH COMMISSIONER FOR ECONOMIC PLANNING, DR. ROBERT GARDINER. CONGRESSMAN DIGGS OPENED BY REFERRING TO CONVERSATIONS EARLIER IN DAY AND SAID HE CONFUSED BY GHANAIAN PERCEPTION OF U.S., WHICH REPORTEDLY SEES GHANA MOVING TO POLITICAL LEFT. MR. DIGGS SAID HE DOES NOT BELIEVE THERE ANY SUCH BELIEF AMONG ANY SIGNIFICANT GROUP OF AMERICANS. GARDINER, CLEARLY FATIGUED AND BARELY AUDIBLE, WAS GRACIOUS, RAMBLING, OCCASIONALLY ERUDITE, AND GENUINELY HAPPY TO HAVE THE DISCUSSION. HE SAID HE APPRECIATES THE PROMPT, POSITIVE U.S. RESPONSE TO GOG REQUEST FOR HELP (ON FOOD, PRESUMABLY). HE POINTED OUT GOG MAY HAVE BEEN SLOW IN MAKING AID REQUESTS, BUT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO AWAIT THE 5-YR. PLAN. HE SPOKE IN FAMILIAR TERMS ABOUT SOME OF GHANA'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, INCLUDING INFLATION, RELIANCE ON SINGLE COMMODITY, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND FOOD SHORTFALLS. ON POLITICAL ISSUES, HE SAID HE LOOKED FOR TIME WHEN "U.N. INITIATIVES AND U.S. SUPPORT" WOULD ALLOW SMALL COUNTRIES LIKE GHANA TO HAVE REAL PART IN MAKING WORLD EVENTS -- BY IMPLICATION, AS IN EARLY 1960'S. "SPEAKING PRIVATELY," HE SAID, "ANGOLA SHOULD NEVER HAVE TAKEN PLACE." RESPONDING TO QUESTION BY DR. CHALLENGER ABOUT CONGRESSMAN DIGGS' PROPOSAL FOR BILL WHICH WOULD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 ACCRA 02604 03 OF 03 070936Z

ESTABLISH U.S. -- FUNDED AFRICAN FOUNDATION PARALLEL TO INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE, GARDINER SUGGESTED SUCH A FOUNDATION COULD WELL SPONSOR VARIED RESEARCH. WITH TIME RUNNING OUT, GARDINER AGREED TO TAKE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ON GHANA'S ECONOMY FROM DR. CHALLENGER; HE RESPONDED IN PRIVATE SESSION WITH HER DURING AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION.

12. FOLLOWING GARDINER MEETING, AMBASSADOR HOSTED RECEPTION AT RESIDENCE FOR CODEL. TURNOUT WAS GOOD, NAACP TEAM WAS ABLE TO COME, CONGRESSMAN DIGGS GAVE ANOTHER PRESS INTERVIEW AND AFFAIR WAS QUITE SUCCESSFUL. CODEL THEN DINED PRIVATELY WITH CHIEF OF PROTOCOL AGGREY-ORLEANS AND CALLED ON MICHIGAN STATE REP. BARBARA ROSE COLLINS, WHO WAS VISITING GHANAIAN FRIENDS. GETTING EARLY START AFTER A LATE NIGHT, CODEL DEPARTED APRIL 5 FOR ABIDJAN, APPARENTLY NONE THE WORSE FOR WEAR. SMITH

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## Message Attributes

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